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ANDAMANESE-SEMANG-ETA CULTURAL RELATIONS

JOHN M. COOPER

The Catholic University of America

THE present paper is an attempt to solve an old problem with new evidence.

The old problem is that of the cultural relationship between the three groups of Asiatic Negritos,—the Andaman Islanders, the Semang of the Malay Peninsula, and the Eta of the Philippines. The problem of their somatological relationship seems already on a fair way to solution. Notwithstanding appreciable mixture with other racial strains, particularly among the Semang and Eta, the three groups more and more appear to be basically one and to have had a unitary origin, although the relation of these three groups to the African and New Guinea Pygmies is still a moot question. We are however concerned solely with the problem of cultural relationship. That a rare element here and there, such as the outrigger canoe and pottery, is an intrusion into Andamanese culture from the outside appears probable. That the cultures of the Semang and Eta have been profoundly influenced by alien cultures is obvious. Our problem then may be formulated about as follows: Granting these alien influences in the culture or cultures of all three Asiatic Negrito groups, can there nevertheless be discerned, beneath these accretions, Negrito cultural patterns distinctive in themselves and distinct from the non-Negrito patterns of the region? If so, in

how far do these three Negrito patterns resemble one another? And finally are the similarities such as to permit us to conclude that the three Oceanic Negrito cultures have had a unitary origin in the distant past and that the now isolated groups have each preserved in part this earlier ancestral configuration?

The new evidence is chiefly derived from the John M. Garvan manuscript on the Philippine Eta, which has very generously been put at my disposal by the Department of Anthropology of the University of California. Garvan's studies were made by him during the period 1903-1924, when he was in the service of the Philippine Government, among numerous Negrito groups from Mindanao up to Luzon. During this period he had unrivalled opportunities for field investigation. His 1000-page manuscript, in which are recorded his own observations, includes also a 102-page chapter giving digests of a large number of unpublished manuscripts on the Eta in the Archives of the Division of Ethnology at Manila,—these manuscripts all written between 1900 and 1915. Of the résumés given by Garvan, the following are drawn upon in the present paper: Ramon Martin, Pablo Gariño, Gabino Plaza, Santiago Plaza, Pablo Burdeos, Tomas Plaza.

It has long been maintained by some anthropologists that there are sufficient correspondences between Andamanese, Semang, and Eta cultures to justify at least a reasonable suspicion that the three cultures are genetically related. Some have considered this evidence quite convincing; others have been skeptical regarding it. In certain features of material culture, such as the bow and arrow and the type of shelter, as well as in certain absences, such as horticulture, alcoholic beverages, weaving, pottery, and stone working, the three cultures in the main agree. Furthermore, there are discernible resemblances in certain broad features of social and magico-religious culture. In general, too, the culture of the Negrito contrasts perceptibly or sharply in these respects with the culture of the adjacent or surrounding Malaysian peoples. All in all, this evidence appears to have a certain weight, but the resemblances are mostly in cultural phenomena that fall short of being as specific as would be desired and that hence are not unmistakably diagnostic.

It is not our purpose in this paper to discuss the above older evidence, but rather to present certain new evidence on the Eta which, we believe, is distinctly diagnostic. Nearly all of this new evidence is taken from Garvan's unpublished material and from the manuscripts which he cites. In the following pages these data will be given in somewhat fuller detail than the comparative Andamanese and Semang data, which latter are easily accessible in the works of Man, Brown, Skeat and Blagden, Vaughan Stevens, Rudolf Martin, Evans, and Schebesta. Pertinent data will also be noted on the occurrence of given elements among non-Negrito marginals and non-marginals of the region.

Children are named after a tree, stream or other object at or near the place of birth, among many Eta groups and among the Semang.¹

The Eta of the eastern cordillera of Mindanao believe that the soul of an ancestral infant who died in the first moons of life dwells within a certain variety of wild dove, whence it enters into the expectant mother. When this wild dove calls, an offering is made by the husband and wife. The bird must not be killed, but is sometimes snared and kept in a cage near the camp, where it is fed and addressed in order to induce the child-soul to take up its abode in the mother. The Semang soul-bird,—described as a kind of crested dove, according to Stevens; as a green bird, probably a species of bee-eater, by the Cheka Semang,—carries within it the soul of the unborn child. The souls grow on a soul tree whence they are fetched by the soul-bird. The expectant mother visits a tree of the same species as her birth-tree. The soul-bird, found sitting on the tree, is killed, and the mother eats the bird, and so the child-soul passes into her. In North Andaman, there is some association between unborn souls of babies, the green pigeon and the *Ficus laccifera* tree,—the same name being used for both the latter. The souls of unborn children live in these trees, whence they go into their mothers when the green pigeon is calling.²

¹ Garvan, ch. 18, p. 6; Gloria, 99; Stevens, 113; Skeat-Blagden, 2: 3; Evans, a, 143 (among Sakai sometimes named after rivers), 179-80, b, 14, c, 247; Schebesta, a, 97; Nippold, 306-7.

² Garvan, ch. 18, pp. 20-21; Stevens, 110, 113-14, 116; Skeat-Blagden, 2: 194-95, 216-17, 224; Evans, a, 143, 169-70, c, 248-50; Brown, 91, 174, 181.

That a sleeping person must not be awakened suddenly lest his soul be absent at the time is universally recognized among the Eta, as among the Andamanese.³

At death, the soul leaves the body through the big toes among some Eta and Semang, through the crown of the head among others.⁴

The soul becomes a bird at death among the Mt. Kadig Eta and Semang.⁵

The Mt. Kadig Eta after a death move their camp across a river from the grave to prevent the soul of the deceased from following them, as do the Djahai Semang.⁶

Among the East Camarines Eta the domain of the dead is an island covered with fruit trees and approached by a boiling lake. The boiling lake or cauldron of boiling water is characteristic for the Semang, Sakai, and Jakun, as is also the future-life Island of Fruits.⁷

The Eta [of Mt. Kadig or Mt. Cristobal?] may carry around with them on their person the skull of a deceased person, as is done by the Andamanese. The Mt. Kadig Eta believe the bone

³ Garvan, ch. 20, p. 16; T. Plaza, 101, Baluga of E. Bulacan; Brown, 167. This observance is found widespread in Indonesia (cf. Kruijt, 235) as elsewhere, but its occurrence in the isolated Andamans can hardly be due to later influence from without.

⁴ By toes: Garvan, ch. 20, pp. 16, 18-19; Evans, a, 156, c, 257-58. By crown of head: Garvan, ch. 20, p. 16; Evans, c, 258, 262; Schebesta, a, 137,—this latter belief possibly taken over from widespread Malaysian belief (cf. Crawley, 132).

⁵ Gariño, 80; Evans, c, 262; Schebesta, a, 100-1, becomes like a bird. In the Andamanese origin myth, a human being appeared in the form of a bird (Man, 99). The Eta and Semang beliefs are possibly related genetically in some way to the widespread Malaysian-Indonesian concept of the soul as bird-like (Skeat, 47; Wilken, 21), and/or the Indonesian belief that birds are incarnations of the dead (Kruijt, 238).

⁶ Gariño, 80; Schebesta, a, 101, 137, 139.

⁷ Garvan, ch. 20, p. 13; Skeat-Blagden, 2: 187, 195, 207-8, 217, 240, 292, 298-99, 321; Schebesta, b, 58-59, 200-1; Evans, c, 148. The belief that the departed soul must cross a bridge over a cauldron of boiling water is also reported for the Kubu of Sumatra (Schebesta, b, 244, 252-53).

of a deceased relative to be very efficacious in illness, as do the Andamanese.⁸

The Eta-Semang-Andamanese correspondences are particularly striking in beliefs and practices regarding certain natural phenomena, especially storms.

The sky, according to the Eta and Andamanese, consists of stone,⁹ while the Eta and Semang believe it to be supported by pillar(s).¹⁰

To the Eta of Ragay the rainbow is a bridge over which the good spirits walk from one end of the sky to the other; to the Andamanese, a bridge of cane over which the departed souls pass to the world of spirits and the spirits travel to visit their friends on earth.¹¹ To the Andamanese the rainbow is an evil omen foreboding sickness or death; to the Eta of eastern Mindanao, the rainbow is generally a bad omen, especially if particularly red, in which case it forebodes death.¹²

At eclipses bows are twanged by the Eta and Andamanese.¹³

Among some Eta groups, such as those of eastern Mindanao, fires should be dimmed at the rising of the moon during the dark of night; among other Eta groups, such as those of Bataan, no fire should be lighted when the moon is rising; among the Eta of Zambales, no firebrand should be carried at the full of the moon. Among the Andamanese, when the moon rises, all fires should be extinguished, and no bright light should be visible, else the moon will be very angry.¹⁴

Among the Eta of Zambales there should be no whistling at the rising of the moon; among the Andamanese, none between sunset and sunrise.¹⁵

⁸ Skulls carried: Gariño, 81; Brown, 112-13. Bones cure illness: S. Plaza, 95; Brown, 113, 126, 184.

⁹ Garvan, ch. 23, p. 34; Brown, 160.

¹⁰ Garvan, *ibid.*; Evans, c, 185.

¹¹ Garvan, ch. 21, p. 6; Brown, 145-46, 169; cf. Man, 86, 94.

¹² Garvan, ch. 21, p. 5; Man, 86; Brown, 146.

¹³ Garvan, ch. 21, p. 7; Man, 92; Brown, 143.

¹⁴ Garvan, ch. 21, pp. 8, 12; Man, 84; Brown, 142-43.

¹⁵ Garvan, ch. 21, p. 12; Man, 88; Brown, 139.

Thunder is caused by the Supreme Being or other superior being rolling stones in the sky, according to the Mamánuia Eta (of Surigao province, Mindanao), the Semang and the Andamanese.¹⁶ It is his (or her) voice among the two latter as among the Ple-Temer and Semai Sakai; while among the midwestern Zambales Eta, it is the voice of Kadai, among the north Camarines Eta that of Kayai, their respective Supreme Beings.¹⁷

According to the Balúga (Eta) of eastern Bulacan, shooting stars and comets are firebrands sent out [by supernatural being(s)], as shooting stars and meteors are among the Andamanese.¹⁸

Storms, or sometimes other evils, are caused by a great number of tabooed types of behavior. We may begin with the three types—concerning beeswax, various edible roots, and the cicada—which Brown notes for all the Great Andaman tribes as being by far the most important of the beliefs and observances connected with their deity, Biliku.¹⁹ Among the Semang and Eta there are no corresponding observances regarding edible roots, so far as I can discover, but there are such as regards beeswax and the cicada.

The northern Mindanao Eta believe, as do the Andamanese, that storms come if anyone burns beeswax.²⁰ Burning beeswax may be resorted to among some of the Eta to stop an eclipse; among the Andamanese, to stop a storm.²¹

The Andamanese must observe silence and do no noisy work after sundown and from sunset to sunrise, or when the cicada is

¹⁶ Burdeos, 99; Evans, a, 148, c, 143; Schebesta, a, 177; Brown, 145, 198.

¹⁷ Garvan, ch. 20, p. 28; Schebesta, a, 177, b, 67, 136; Man, 85; Brown, 152.

¹⁸ T. Plaza, 100; Man, 84. Cf. Andamanese belief that lightning is a firebrand or burning log flung at people by Puluga-Biliku (Man, 85, 90; Brown, 141, 152).

¹⁹ Brown, 156.

²⁰ Garvan, ch. 21, pp. 1-2; Man, 86; Brown, 152-53. Among the Zambales Eta, beeswax should not be burned after the birth of a child (Garvan ch. 21, p. 12). There is a remote possibility that the Sakai taboo on burning a certain gum (*malau*) may be related to the beeswax taboo (cf. Evans, a, 199, 202).

²¹ Garvan, ch. 21, p. 7; Brown, 157. The Jakun light incense resin all around the hut when a storm is approaching (Schebesta, b, 216).

singing, lest offence be given to the cicada and to Puluga, and a storm come. The cicada "sings" between dawn and sunrise and between sunset and darkness. Among the Semai Sakai quiet must be kept when the cicada sings in the morning and evening. The details regarding the cicada, and storms, are not recorded for the Eta. But among many Eta groups, Garvan notes, it is believed there should be no shouting or loud noise at sunset. Plaza reports that among the Balúga (Eta) of eastern Bulacan there should be no shouting or noisy work before sunrise and after sunset.²²

Each Eta group has its own local method of quartering game, and as a general rule believes any other method would bring bad luck in future hunts. The northern Camarines Eta believe that Kayai, their Supreme Being, wants game quartered in a certain way. The Andamanese believe that if a pig is badly quartered, the spirits of the jungle or Puluga will be angered.²³

The two following correspondences look interesting, even though not as striking as the foregoing ones. Thunder is caused, according to the east Mindanao Eta, by burning certain [not specified] plants; a storm, according the Andamanese, by burning the Anadendron creeper.²⁴ The north Mindanao Eta believe storms are caused if the sea or things of the sea be mentioned,—a conception suggestive of an alternative Andamanese theory that storms may be caused by the spirits of the sea.²⁵

In most of the foregoing beliefs and usages regarding storms the correspondences are Eta-Andamanese; in most of the following, Eta-Semang.

Among the Zambales Eta it is taboo to apply fire to leeches while on one's body; among the Mamánuá (Eta) of Surigao province, Mindanao, leeches must not be "burned off"; among the eastern Mindanao Eta, killing leeches causes storms, and putting leeches and certain other insects in the fire causes

²² Garvan, ch. 21, p. 7; T. Plaza, 100; Man, 84, 85, 97, 127; Brown, 154-55; Schebesta, b, 135-36.

²³ Garvan, ch. 5, p. 6, and ch. 20, p. 28; Man, 90; Brown, 162.

²⁴ Garvan, ch. 21, p. 4; Brown, 157, 180. Burning two kinds of creepers brings storms among the Behrang Senoi (Evans, a, 199).

²⁵ Garvan, ch. 21, pp. 1-2; Brown, 157, 163.

thunder. This corresponds exactly to the Semang prohibition against touching fire to leeches on one's body, and picking them off the body and burning them in a fire,—lest the Supreme Being be offended and/or tigers come.²⁶

That copulating dogs should not be looked at is a prohibition common to the Mamánuá Eta (of Surigao province, Mindanao) and to the Kenta Bogn (Semang).²⁷

Birds' eggs should not be taken, the Mamánuá and Zambales Eta believe; "mit Vogeleiern darf nicht gespielt werden", the Kenta Bogn (Semang) hold.²⁸

Taboos on imitating, mocking, ridiculing, playing with, teasing, torturing or killing certain animals, birds and insects are very widespread among the Eta, Semang, and Sakai; but as such taboos obtain among a good many Malaysian peoples of the region there is some ground for suspecting that these prohibitions or many or most of them have been derived by the marginal groups from the Malaysians. Since, however, so far as I can discover, distribution among the Malaysians appears sporadic and spotty and the taboos do not seem to take a premier rank in Malaysian culture, while they are consistently present and seemingly of premier importance among the marginals, it is conceivable that the Malaysians rather than the marginals may have been the borrowers, or else that the basic taboos go far back to a remote common source or heritage.

Among the northern Mindanao Eta, storms are caused by imitating or mocking certain birds and animals; among the eastern Mindanao Eta, thunder is caused by imitating certain birds, or by making a dog and cat fight; among the Zambales Eta, playing with a lizard will bring on a storm; among an unspecified

²⁶ Garvan, ch. 21, pp. 1, 4, 12; Burdeos, 99; Skeat-Blagden, 2: 223; Schebesta, a, 182-83. Pulling leeches off the body and burning them in the fire is taboo also among the Sakai of the Ulu Kampar and among the Sungkai Senoi (Evans, a, 201, 202, cf. 199 on Behrang Senoi), as is likewise burning lice among the Behrang Senoi and the Béra and Kemaman Sakai-Jakun (Evans, a, 199, 206). Among the Semai Sakai leeches may be killed but must not be thrown into the fire (Schebesta, b, 138).

²⁷ Burdeos, 99; Schebesta, a, 214, a "sin" against the Supreme Being.

²⁸ Garvan, ch. 21, p. 12; Burdeos, 99; Schebesta, a, 215.

Eta group, laughing and making fun of a carrion lizard will cause sickness. These and similar taboos are common and numerous and apparently strenuously insisted on among the Semang and Sakai. Rather similar taboos, mostly regarding certain mammals and domestic fowl, are found among the (non-Eta) Manobo of Mindanao, the Pahang Malay of the Malay Peninsula, and the Murut, the Dusun, and the Dayak of the Samarahan River, of Borneo. They are seemingly uncommon among the Malay Peninsula Malays, as Evans found such among only the Malays of central Pahang.²⁹

By context it is pretty clearly implied that among the Mamánuá (Eta) of Surigao province, Mindanao, no harm should be done to certain big wasps; these wasps are looked upon as messengers of the thunder god. It is prohibited to kill a certain kind of black wasp who is a companion or attendant of the Djahai Semang thunder god.³⁰

Among the Zambales and Mamánuá Eta water must not be fetched from the stream in a pot or other vessel used in cooking. Among the Kenta-Bogn and Djahai Semang, this would offend the thunder god.³¹

Flashing a mirror is believed to cause storms, by the eastern Mindanao Eta, and by the Jehai and Kintak Bong Semang.³²

The [or a] soul may dwell in certain pools, according to the Balúga Eta of eastern Bulacan, therefore one should not look at his reflection therein. Among the Djahai Semang it is a

²⁹ Eta: Garvan, ch. 5, p. 8, ch. 20, p. 26, and ch. 21, pp. 1-2, 4; Burdeos, 99. Semang: Evans, a, 153, c, 146, 173-76, 181-83; Schebesta, a, 182-83, 214. Sakai: Evans, a, 199-202; Schebesta, b, 138. Sakai-Jakun: Evans, a, 206. Pahang Malays: Wan Lela, 33; Evans, a, 271-72, b, 103, c, 179. Dusun, Murut, Dayak: Rutter, 257-59. Manobo: J. M. Garvan, *The Manobos of Mindanao*, Wash., 1931, 227-28.

³⁰ Schebesta, a, 183; Burdeos, 99. Among the Temer Sakai too, it is taboo to kill the black wasp (Schebesta, b, 65).

³¹ Garvan, ch. 21, p. 12; Burdeos, 99; Schebesta, a, 183-84, 214. Among the Pahang Malays of the Malay Peninsula cooking pots must not be washed in the river, lest a storm come (Wan Lela, 27).

³² Garvan, ch. 21, p. 1; Evans, a, 153, c, 173 (Jehai: wrong to flash mirror or other shiny object about in the open; Kintak Bong: the flashes shine on Tak Pern's face and he gets angry).

"sin" against the thunder god to look at one's self in a looking-glass.³³

The Eta of Ragay attribute storms to loud laughter, as do the Behrang Sakai to laughing loudly at play, and the Djahai Semang to play that is too noisy or boisterous.³⁴

Kadai, the Supreme Being and thunder god of the midwestern Zambales Eta and the Balúga Eta of eastern Bulacan, gets angry, at "murder, incest and so on" among the Zambales Eta, and at adultery and "familiarity between married relatives" among the Balúga. Baya, the Supreme Being and thunder god of one Eta group [in Mindanao apparently] causes thunder when murder, incest or other wrong is committed. Among the Sakai-speaking Sabubn Semang thunder and their Supreme Being are closely associated with murder; among the Kenta-Bogn Semang adultery and breach of the in-law avoidances are sins against the Supreme Being; of the Semang in general it is reported that thunderbolts fall if a man is too familiar with his mother-in-law. Man reported that Puluga, the Supreme Being and thunder god of the Andamanese, was angered at falsehood, theft, grave assault, murder and adultery, and punished the guilty by sending thunderstorms, although Brown was unable to verify this statement of Man.³⁵

To carry out sexual intercourse in the daytime is offensive to Kadai, the Supreme Being of the Balúga Eta of Mt. Banáhau, southeastern Tayabas, as it is to the Semang Supreme Being or thunder god.³⁶

In Garvan's résumé of Tomas Plaza's manuscript on the Balúga (Eta) of eastern Bulacan occurs the brief entry: "Kadai = God of thunder, therefore remove combs". Almost certainly this denotes an observance similar to the Kenta-Bogn (Semang)

³³ T. Plaza, 101; Schebesta, a, 184. The Ple Sakai medicine man must not look at anything shiny or look in a looking-glass (Schebesta, b, 43).

³⁴ Garvan, ch. 21, p. 2; Evans, a, 200; Schebesta, a, 183.

³⁵ Garvan, ch. 20, pp. 28-29; T. Plaza, 100-1; Skeat-Blagden, 2: 204; Schebesta, a, 184, 214-15; Man, 44, 89; Brown, 159-60. Parent-in-law respect-avoidances are common among the Eta (Garvan, ch. 16, *passim*).

³⁶ S. Plaza, 95; Evans, a, 153-54, c, 173-74; Schebesta, a, 95, 214.

one that it is an offence against the thunder god for women to wear combs in their hair during a storm.³⁷

A great many of the Eta [apparently from context, of Mindanao] have the practice of pricking their fingers during a thunder storm and sprinkling the blood in the direction of the thunder,—the Supreme Being, Baya, being owner of the thunder, and thundering being an indication of his anger at some wrong committed. Among some of the Eta of eastern Mindanao, storms are attributed to evil spirits in the sky, perhaps departed souls, and on several occasions during storms Garvan noticed one individual or another make a small cut in some part of his body and with a movement of his finger dispel the blood skyward, with some form of address to the spirits such as: "Here's your blood, drink it". Among the Balúga (Eta) of eastern Bulacan, when Kadai, the thunder god, is angry at adultery or other wrong, and thunder comes, blood is taken from a cut in the leg, mixed with water, and thrown in the direction of the thunder, while a little of it is put in the ground for Kadai's wife; usually it is the women who so offer their blood, but if the storm increases the men do so too. This Eta expiatory blood-offering so corresponds in general and in nearly every detail to the well-known Semang and Sakai blood-offering that genetic relationship appears beyond reasonable question.³⁸

³⁷ T. Plaza, 100; Schebesta, a, 214.

³⁸ Garvan, ch. 20, p. 29, and ch. 21, p. 1; T. Plaza, 100-1; Stevens, 107-9; Skeat-Blagden, 2: 199, 204; Schebesta, a, *passim*; Evans, c, 171, 172. Sakai: Evans, a, 141-42, 200; Schebesta, b, 66, 137. According to Wan Lela, a Malay of Kuala Lipis, Pahang, Malay Peninsula, among the Pahang Malays, in connection with storms the throat of a fowl or animal is cut and the blood is let drop on the earth as an expiatory sacrifice, or, if no fowl or animal be available, a man's own hands or feet are cut and the blood is let fall to the ground (Wan Lela, 33). I can discover no other similar expiatory storm-offering of human blood in the reports of Malay culture I have consulted. If this custom is genetically related to the Semang-Sakai one, its distribution as limited to Pahang close to Semang-Sakai groups (cf. Wan Lela, 34), and its seeming secondary rôle, would suggest a borrowing by the Malays of Pahang from Semang-Sakai culture, or possibly an ancient common source. For an African Negrito (Gabun region) offering of human blood, cf. Trilles, 81, 500.

While addressing the spirits at the blood-offering, the eastern Mindanao Eta at the same time expel their breath through their teeth. The Jehai Semang drive away a threatening storm by blowing through their teeth with a hissing sound.³⁹

Shouting at a storm to stop it is a common procedure among the Eta and the Sakai, and, at least in the form of loudly shouted or spoken commands, among the Semang.⁴⁰

To keep off the *anitu* (spirits) during thunder and storms, the indications of their anger, bamboo or anything that will "explode" is burned, by the Balúga (Eta) of eastern Bulacan. The Andamanese, to pacify Puluga (Biliku) during stormy weather, throw into the fire leaves of Mimusops, which explode with a crackling or popping noise.⁴¹

To stop a storm, the Eta of Ragay drive an arrow, or bolo, or sharp sticks into the ground, the Eta of Zambales chop the ground with a bolo or drive sharp stakes into the ground, the Sakai of Ulu Kampar strike their working knives into the ground and leave them there.⁴²

The Supreme Being of the northern Camarines Eta is called Kayai; of the midwestern Zambales Eta and Balúga of eastern Bulacan, Kadai; of eastern Zambales, Katála; of one other Eta group [apparently from the context, in Mindanao], Baya. Kayai is beyond reasonable doubt Karei, Kaye, Kaei, etc., of the Semang; Kadai, not unlikely a variant, Katála possibly so. Baya is more than likely related to Bayagá'w, Banaga'w, the Supreme Being of the Eta of northeastern Apayaw, and perhaps to the Kenta Bogn Semang Bajiaig, Begjág, the younger brother of their Supreme Being Tapern (Kaei), and the Djahai Semang Begreg, child of their Supreme Being. Karei, kaye, etc.,

³⁹ Garvan, ch. 21, p. 1; Evans, e, 173. Among the Bulacan Eta, if a stranger is seen, any evil influence emanating from him is dispelled by blowing breath through the lips in his direction (Garvan, ch. 21, p. 12).

⁴⁰ Garvan, ch. 21, pp. 2, 5, 14; Vanoverbergh, 24: 898; Skeat-Blagden, 2: 204; Schebesta, a, 243; Evans, a, 201.

⁴¹ T. Plaza, 100; Man, 85; Brown, 157. Garvan himself records that the Eta of Bataan burn herbs during a storm, without however implying that these are "explosive" (Garvan, ch. 21, p. 2).

⁴² Garvan, ch. 21, p. 2; Evans, a, 201.

is Semang for "thunder"; our sources do not state the Eta meaning of "kayay, etc.", or of "baya".⁴³

In all cases, Eta and Semang, the Supreme Being is the thunder god or sender of thunder storms, as also are Puluga (Bilik) among the Andamanese, and the Supreme Being, Ungku, among the Sakai. The Supreme Being, too, is quite consistently considered to have a wife and children.⁴⁴

The northern Camarines Eta suppose Kayai to be "fiery" in appearance, as is the Djahai Semang Supreme Being and the Andamanese Puluga.⁴⁵

The Semang Supreme Being is commonly described as white-skinned, and/or covered with long white hair; Bilik of the Andamanese was described to Brown by one A-Pućikwar man as white-skinned, with a long beard.⁴⁶

Among the mideastern Mindanao, a certain *magbabaya* or spirit [from the context pretty clearly the Supreme Being] was said by some to live in the sky, by others in a cave. The Semang Supreme Being is commonly believed to live in a cave, or in a cave in the sky. The Andamanese Puluga lives in the sky in a stone house,—this latter believed by Brown to mean a cave,—while the north Andaman Biliku is frequently spoken of as living in a cave.⁴⁷

The cicada is represented as the child (or children) of a superior or the Supreme Being among the Semang, the Semai,

⁴³ Kari, Kayay, etc.: Garvan, ch. 20, pp. 27-28; T. Plaza, 100; Stevens, Skeat-Blagden, Evans, a, b, c, Schebesta, a, *passim*. Baya, Bayaga'w, etc.: Garvan, ch. 20, p. 29; Vanoverbergh, 25: 547-49, 563-64; Evans, a, 147; Schebesta, a, 178, 209, 211.

⁴⁴ Garvan and T. Plaza, ll.c. preceding n.c.e. Same Semang sources, and Man, Brown, *passim*. Sakai: Evans, a, 199; Schebesta, b, 66, 136. Karei= "thunder": Skeat-Blagden, 2: 737.

⁴⁵ Garvan, ch. 20, p. 28; Schebesta, a, 181, "seine Ausstrahlung . . . wie Feuer"; Man, 89.

⁴⁶ Skeat-Blagden, 2: 210; Evans, a, 149, b, 23; Schebesta, a, 212, 242; Brown, 159.

⁴⁷ Garvan, ch. 20, p. 29, cf. 37, 42; Evans, b, 23, c, 145; Schebesta, a, 179; Man, 90; Brown, 160.

Sakai, and the North Andamanese,—a correspondence to which Schmidt was the first, to my knowledge, to call attention.⁴⁸

According to the Balúga (Eta) of eastern Bulacan, "a huge ape stole fire from Kadai [the Supreme Being] and set world on fire; some fled downstream and became Malays; others had hair singed and became Negritos". According to the Jehai Semang the king of the bērok-monkeys stole a brand from Karei and set the grass on fire; the people who went downstream on rafts are the ancestors of the Malays; those who delayed, got their hair singed, took to the mountains and forests, and so became the Negritos. Two or more of these motifs,—theft of fire, by monkey or ape, from the Supreme Being, conflagration, flight, division of people, Malays going downstream, Negritos getting hair singed, whence its frizziness,—occur in combination in a great number of Semang versions of the story. Perhaps related to it is the Andamanese story of the theft of fire from Puluga (Biliku).⁴⁹

A final correspondence is here appended, although it is not impossible that the Eta occurrence may be the result of later Malaysian influence. Gabino Plaza reports that among the Eta of the eastern cordillera, eastern Luzon [in the Tayabas region, apparently], in camp "bachelors, old and young spinsters, children, have huts of their own". One is here reminded of the Andamanese camp arrangement.⁵⁰ It may be added, as possibly of significance, that, as Garvan writes, "the huts [of un-

⁴⁸ Skeat-Blagden, 2: 210; Schebesta, b, 136; Brown, 154; Schmidt, 6: 565. The taboo on noise while the cicada sings is probably related to this concept of the cicada as the child of the Supreme Being; the taboo itself on noise at or after sunset and before sunrise is, as previously noted, well marked among some of the Eta, but this cicada concept back of it is not reported by Garvan.

⁴⁹ T. Plaza, 101; Evans, c, 243; Brown, 201-6; Man, 99. For other Semang versions, see: Stevens, 99; Skeat-Blagden, 2: 219; Evans, a, 146, c, 147, 161; Schebesta, a, 208-9. For wider distribution of theft-of-fire motif, see: Dixon, 47-50 (Polynesian), 114-16 (Melanesian), 281-84 (Australian); Thompson, 1: 168-69. As regards the Eta-Semang correspondence, the significant point is, of course, not the sheer theft motif, but the whole constellation of associated motifs.

⁵⁰ G. Plaza, 86; Man, 40; Brown, 34-35.

Malayized Eta] are situated so as to form a circle around the central clearing. This is an invariable feature of practically all [Eta] forest nomads that I have been in contact with"; very like the common Andamanese elliptical or near-elliptical camp layout.⁵¹

Some of the correspondences which have been recorded in the preceding pages are, as is obvious, less distinctive and specific than others, but a large number of them are markedly so. Some of the correspondences between the Eta and Semang cultures may possibly be due to borrowing from Malaysian culture, as we have noted in passing, but most of them are not seemingly paralleled in Malaysian culture. Furthermore so far as the correspondences between the Andamanese phenomena on the one hand and the Eta or Semang on the other hand are concerned, there can hardly be any question of Malaysian influence, inasmuch as the Andaman Islanders are well isolated therefrom and show only a minimum of foreign influence that can be considered Malaysian.⁵²

We have listed in all 55 more or less diagnostic correspondences. Of these 55, 9 represent correspondences between all three Negrito groups,—the Eta, Semang and Andamanese; 23, between only the Eta and Semang; 20, between only the Eta and Andamanese; 2, between only the Andamanese and Semang; and 1 between only the Eta and Sakai. Of the 23 Eta-Semang correspondences, 3 or 4 are also found among some of the Malaysian groups.

What interpretation shall we put upon these facts? The present writer finds it hard to avoid the conclusion that this great number of very specific cultural correspondences between the Eta, Semang, and Andamanese, point with something almost approaching demonstration to widespread retention from an ancient common culture. The pattern they reveal is in general and in detail distinct from that of the Malaysian and other peoples of the area, and consequently cannot be a more recent borrowing therefrom.

⁵¹ Garvan, ch. 4, p. 3; Man, 40; Brown, 34.

⁵² Nippold, 355-57.

The Eta, Semang, and Andamanese are distributed at the horns and center of a crescent archipelagic and mainland region extending about 3500 miles from tip to tip. The Semang in the center are now about 1500 miles, in rough figures, from the nearest Eta, about 1000 miles from the nearest Andamanese. How long ago the ancestors of the three groups parted company or became isolated from one another cannot be determined with any approach to precision. If Heine-Geldern's theory of the irruption of the rice-growing head-hunting Ur-Austronesians into Indonesia between 2000 and 1500 B. C. should be further substantiated, this would give us some light on our question. Kaudern's more recent hypothesis suggests migrations of the Negritos direct from Asia to the Andamans and the Philippines by land bridges that existed during the lower sea-level of the glacial period(s).⁵³ But regardless of either theory, a mass of evidence points to the conclusion that the separation of the three groups,—Eta, Semang, and Andamanese,—has been in effect for a very long period that must be measured not so much in centuries as in millennia.

It would seem therefore that the Eta, Semang and Andamanese Negritos have retained through these long millennia a large part of their common ancient ancestral magico-religious culture. It is not unlikely too, in the light of the magico-religious evidence, that much of their common social culture represents a parallel retention, although, since the specific evidence for this is not in itself convincing, the point is not here pressed. Perhaps, too, even some few of the positive and negative correspondences in material culture represent retentions, in spite of the obvious profound later material influences from other peoples in the region.

So much for the main problem of the present paper. The evidence presented raises three subordinate ones on the solution of which we have little if any light.

First, what is the explanation of the peculiar distribution of the 55 correspondences we have noted? Of these, only 9 are common to all three Negrito groups, and only 11 are common to the Semang and Andamanese. On the other hand, the Eta seem

⁵³ Heine-Geldern; Kaudern.

to form a link between the other two groups, sharing 23 with the Semang and 20 with the Andamanese. It would be idle to speculate on the significance of this rather puzzling distribution. Even if we assume, as is commonly done, an earlier occupation of some part of the southeastern Asiatic peninsula by common ancestors of the Andamanese, Semang, and Eta, we are no nearer a solution of the puzzle.

Second, what is the meaning of the high proportion of resemblances, 18 in all, between the Sakai of the Malay Peninsula and the Negrito cultures? In 14 of the 18 cases, the trait is found among the Semang. Given the known close relations between the Sakai and the Semang, it would look as if the Sakai had here been influenced by the Semang. The remaining four traits shared with the Andamanese and/or Eta may perhaps be also Semang traits not thus far reported.

Third, what significance, if any, is to be attached to the Eta-Semang correspondences that are also found among non-Negrito peoples of northern Borneo and of Mindanao, but not among other Malaysians? The peculiar head-bumping wedding rite, reported for the Eta, is also found in northern Borneo.⁵⁴ Does all this suggest that one line of Negrito migration from the assumed Asiatic mainland home may have led across northern Borneo? Or has there been more recent contact?

The three foregoing subordinate questions appear worth calling attention to. But, expressly and avowedly, the suggestions made apropos of them are hardly, if at all, above the level of speculation.

As regards, however, the real and main question raised in the present paper, we believe the data given us by Garvan make reasonably clear that the three Asiatic Negrito magico-religious cultures,—in lesser measure the material and perhaps the social,—are distinctive in themselves and distinct from the non-

⁵⁴ The distinctive head-bumping wedding rite, found here and there among the Eta, occurs also among the Dyak of Sarawak, Borneo, but was not found by Bielouss, in her review of the sources, anywhere else among the Philippine or other Malays (Bielouss, 41-42, 52-53; Garvan, ch. 16, *passim*). Whether there may be a genetic relation here to the Gilbert Islands head-pressing wedding rite (Wilkes, 5: 101) is very doubtful.

Negrito patterns of the area; that these three Negrito patterns, at least as regards magico-religious phenomena, so resemble one another in so many diagnostic elements that they must have had a unitary origin in the remote past; and that the three now widely separated Negrito groups have each preserved fairly intact a very large part of this earlier ancestral pattern.

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FIFTEENTH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE CONFERENCE

THE Fifteenth Annual Meeting of the Catholic Anthropological Conference was held on Tuesday, March 26, 1940, at Rosary College, River Forest, Illinois. The morning session was presided over by Rev. Dr. Raymond W. Murray, C.S.C.; the afternoon session, by Rev. Albert Muntsch, S.J.

The papers given at the two sessions constituted a symposium on the general topic "The Race Problem". The following speakers took part in the symposium: Rev. Matthias Braun, S.V.D., Techny, Illinois; Rev. Dr. Raymond Murray, C.S.C., University of Notre Dame; Sister Mary Henry, O.P., Rosary College; Dr. Regina Flannery, The Catholic University of America; Rev. Dr. John M. Cooper.

At the afternoon session the following officers were elected: Honorary President, Most Rev. Joseph M. Corrigan, D.D.; President, Rev. Francis P. LeBuffe, S.J.; Vice-President, Rev. Berard Haile, O.F.M.; Secretary-Treasurer, Rev. John M. Cooper; Assistant Editor, Dr. Regina Flannery; Executive Board: Mother Mary Joseph, O.P., Very Rev. Bruno Hagspiel, S.V.D., Dr. Fred. P. Kenkel, to 1941; Rev. Leopold Tibesar, M.M., Rev. Dr. Arthur J. Heffernan, Rev. R. McCoy, White Fathers of Africa, to 1942; Sister Mary Henry, O.P., Rev. Marcellin Molz, S.D.S., Rev. Dr. Raymond W. Murray, C.S.C., to 1943.

It was voted that the next annual meeting be held on Easter Tuesday, April 15, 1941, and that the subject of the symposium for the meeting be: "War and Peace among Primitive Peoples".



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